He had criminal and civil jurisdiction and the right to claim military service from the Nāyars under him. The *Nadu Vazhis* kept a local force varying between five hundred and one thousand men, which they were obliged to put into the field at the command of their Rajah. The *Nadu Vazhis* were kept under control by the Rajah when he was able to do so. But in any case they were bound to fight for him. Below these *Nadu Vazhis* were *Desa Vazhis* (lords of the Manor). They had the right of keeping a *Kalari* or a military academy. In each village there was one *Desa Vazhi* (sometimes more), who was called master (*Asān*) by the Nāyars. He was their military preceptor in peace time and their leader in war time.

The principal business of the *Desa Vazhi* was to train the young men of *Desa* in his *Kalari*. All Nāyar boys after twelve were supposed to attend the *Kalari* and learn boxing, fencing, sword play, military formation, and the ordinary rules of warfare. For such training the *Desa Vazhi* was not paid. After eighteen the boys were not supposed to attend the *Kalari*, but were required to be ready to start for war at a day's notice.

The *Kalaris* are still in existence. Even now the Nāyar young men who do not go to English schools get some sort of a training with imitation swords and shields, because swords are prohibited by the Arms Act. In certain families one male member has to be proficient in this art so as to be able to teach the others. The *Kalaris*, though now visited by people only for the extreme beauty of their architecture, are still used by the Nāyars of the *Desas* as places of worship.

On the festival days in the village temple the Nāyars, who have been thus trained, even now hold a review in martial array (*vēla*). In Trivandrum, which is the capital of the Maharajah of Travancore, this feature is very prominent. In other places there are still *Patayanis* (*Pata*=war, *ani*=to get ready). All the Nāyars of the surrounding districts assemble, and the ceremonies which in former days stood for military manœuvres are held with great enthusiasm.

The centre of all the martial and, consequently, of the social life of the Nāyars is, therefore, the *Desa*. In each village there is a temple owned by the community. The temple is generally self-supporting, and occasionally very rich. The temple authorities are appointed by the village. The power is generally vested in the *Pramanis*, or the chief men. In each village there are certain families who have the right of being consulted in all matters connected with it. The head of these *Pramanis* is the Lord of the Manor.

In describing the organization of the village, it is better to take one practical example which is typical. Kavalam is such a village. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the description of the organization of that village.

The village is supposed to consist of one hundred and fifty houses. This is the traditional number, but at least fifty of these have emigrated. But though they live in other parts of the country they are still considered to belong to this organization. In all the ceremonies that require the sanction of the village the emigrant,

[i.e., The Nadu Vazhi -- Analyst]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

the trend towards a high rate of urbanization may be expected to continue during the coming decade.

Sex Distribution

11.4 One of the interesting demographic features of Kerala is its sex distribution which shows an excess of females. Out of a total population of 16.88 million[1] in 1961, females (8.53 million) outnumbered the males (8.35 million) by 0.18 million giving a sex ratio of 1,022 females to a thousand males (all-India: 940 females to 1,000 males). The proportion of females in the population had been rising successively over the past few decades till 1951, but during the past decade it has shown a slight tendency to fall as shown by the following table:

SEX RATIO (KERALA STATE)

Year	*Female per 1,000 males*
1901	1,004
1911	1,008
1921	1,011
1931	1,022
1941	1,027
1951	1,028
1961	1,022

11.5 The excess of females is especially marked in the working age groups. Whereas in the age group 0-15 years males exceeded females in the ratio 100: 97.7, in the age group 15-55 years the position was reverse, there being 100 males to 106.5 females. (1951 Census)

11.6 The pattern of sex distribution in the rural and urban areas is broadly similar to that in the rest of India. Females are generally found to be more predominant in the rural areas. In Kerala this contrast is quite marked as can be seen from the fact that rural sex ratio is 1,034 to a 1,000 males against the urban ratio of 990 to 1,000. The cause of this rural-urban difference is rooted in the sociological factors, the most important of which is that the males generally come over to the towns for earning their livelihood, leaving behind other members of the family in the villages.

Age Structure

11.7 Age structure is an important determinant of the proportion of economically active persons in the population. An economy with a high proportion of older people is necessarily less dynamic than an economy with a large element of younger blood. Table 56[2] gives a comparative picture of the age structure of the population in Kerala and in India, according to the Census of 1951.

[1] *1961 Census* (Provisional Population figures).

[2] [Table 56, appearing on p. 309 of the text, has not been processed -- Analyst]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Tiyas
Thandans

to the four eldest boys to begin with. That was twenty seven years ago, and she was forty six now. Innayakkan, the last husband, had joined his brothers later, when he was twelve and with their consent, but there had been no ceremony. 595 * 601

Very soon after this, Iyyer, the third husband, finding conditions too difficult in Kerala, did what many Tiyas had done since time immemorial; he emigrated to Ceylon, where he worked as a railway coolie. Kalyany had remained with Koppan, Pangoda, Ponan and Innayakkan, and she had had five children by them. Then Ponan died of tuberculosis, ten years after the wedding, aged twenty five. Fifteen years ago, the two eldest men had also left for Ceylon and sent Iyyer back to look after their wife. He had returned, had taken up his former profession of toddy tapping, and was her only real husband now. She had had three more children by him, Balakrishnan was the second and the only boy. There had been no news at all of Koppan and Pangoda, and she presumed that they were dead. Inayakkan had run away from home some time back and had never been heard of again; he was also presumed dead. With Iyyer and herself lived Kesheran, her second son, two unmarried girls and the three last children. Work was still scarce, and pay meagre, so that Aiyappan, the eldest, had gone to Kozhikode (Calicut) in order to try and gain employment. His brother, Padmanapan, had done the same, but he had gone to Madras, on the east coast. She had been trying to help Balakrishnan find work all day: yesterday he had been given a job as a coolie, but today, he was unemployed. [464] [167] [464] [166]

Kalyany told me that she was related to the brothers of the Katukulangara *tarawad* whom I had interviewed at Kadavelur on the 27th of October. She was a half sister of Velu by another mother. I found this family particularly interesting, because it illustrated, more than any other Tiya one encountered so far, the ancient and persistant connection which the caste has with Ceylon. Their genealogy is given in Table 8.

Before going on to an account of my visits to Kammalans and other artisan families practising polyandry in Kerala, I would like to give here, together with the material that I collected about Tiyas, the description of a Thandan family that I went to see on the 25th of November 1949. 595*

They lived in a large house, standing in a big garden of coconut trees, arecanut palms, plantains and jacks. It was situated at the cross-roads of the Nilambur valley track and the highway to Pattambi, quite close to Shoranur. [351] [361]

I began by interviewing the matriarch of the household, an old lady of eighty, called Kali, the widow of five husbands. The household and [601]

[Text Continues on P. 191]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

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3. Goldsmith.
4. Leathersmith.
5. Carpentry.
6. Masonry.
7. Oil pressing.
8. Making of bamboo mats, baskets, etc.
9. Trade in rice.
10. Butter and milk trade.

In arrack preparation two men (Tiyyas) are engaged, but they are also agriculturists and not more than two hours are spent on an average by them on their particular profession. They cut two or three trees daily and from the toddy thus got jaggery or arrack is made. The profit according to their own version is not more than three annas per day. The ironsmith, goldsmith, leathersmith, carpenter and stone mason are whole-time workmen. The ironsmith finds employment in making or repairing agricultural implements. Nothing above this is known to him. The goldsmith's work consists mainly of making ornaments for the jenmis. He is an expert as far as such ornaments are concerned. But beyond these customary works his genius does not go. The leathersmith gets hardly any orders for his work, but his wife supplies chunam* to the country whereby the family maintains a precarious existence. Carpenters and stone masons have work in some seasons. For example, in the ploughing time or the beginning of the watering season, the former has busy calls from every family for the repair of a plough, a water lift or the like. The stone mason wanders to other parts of the country in search of work. He has no work here. The average rate of wages for these is four annas a day and one meal. Goldsmiths' and ironsmiths' remuneration is based on the quality and quantity of their work. None of these have continuous employment for the whole year. Owing to this cause, out of the two families of carpenters consisting of ten members of workable age, eight migrate usually to Calicut where they get twelve annas wages per day. They pay occasional visits to their homes, stay there for a fortnight or so, and then again go.

• [166]

The oil presses find ten or twelve days' work each year after a gingelly crop is cut.

285 Mat and basket making is the indoor industry of the Cheruma women. They help their husbands in the fields in minor works but sometimes are also employed on independent wages especially during harvest and sowing time. Their spare time is employed in this industry. These mats and baskets are made of split bamboo. They are rough productions.

252 There is a curious industry carried on by some Nayar men and women which illustrates the plight they are in. Each of them has a capital of two rupees. They go out with this ten or sometimes fifteen miles away and purchase paddy for this sum where it is sold cheaper by four nazhis (one-tenth para) a rupee. Next day it is boiled, dried and made into rice. On the third day it is carried to Kunnankulam or Guruvayoor, villages eight or ten miles to the

* [Slaked lime for chewing. It is spread thinly on betel leaves, which are folded when put in the mouth.—Ed.]